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863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [754] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sek*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance repeatedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sek* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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the general permissive attitude which a mother exhibits toward her infant suggests that she may also allow it freedom to discover this mode of gratification. On the other hand, the fact that older children are not permitted to masturbate in public might influence the mother to prohibit this type of behavior in her infant as well. The fact that both Kum and Merik, boys who were in the weaning period, fingered their genitals without being punished suggests a permissive attitude toward masturbation as perhaps the more plausible assumption. 864

Although a mother tries to protect her infant from pain inflicted by the natural environment, frequent experience with suffering is unavoidable. It is practically impossible for her to ward off the clouds of hungry mosquitoes that are continually present. The extreme temperature variations are often unpleasant. In the afternoon, with humidity at a maximum and the temperature around ninety degrees, the heat is stifling. By contrast, a damp foggy morning with the temperature at seventy is uncomfortably cold; I would shiver in a thick sweater while the natives huddled by their fires. Teething is another source of pain which every infant must endure. Yaws and malaria are prevalent diseases at Kwoma. Informants told me that no one ever grows up without contracting the former. Certainly few youths or adults can be seen who do not bear scars of yaws sores. The infant's physiological immaturity makes him for the most part dependent on his mother to help him cope with these natural pains just as he depends on her to feed him. 854 [136] [132] [164]

Crying is selected as the most effective response which a Kwoma infant can make both to pain and to hunger. It constitutes an injunction to the mother to discover the source of the trouble. Her first response is to present the breast. If this fails to quiet him, she tries something else. If she believes that the child is crying because he is too hot, she moves him away from the heat of her body. If she thinks he is cold, she cuddles him. If his crying calls her attention to a mosquito on him, she brushes it off and scratches the bite. If she suspects that sores from yaws are hurting him, she tries to move

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862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[4]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[5] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[6] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [4] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.
[364] [5] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material
[754] (food leavings) from it without being observed.
[6] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

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been one that they had already learned during infancy. In any case neither parents nor older siblings scolded them for this behavior although it was often done in their presence. Kum showed considerable interest in the genitals of other males,* staring at those of his father and older brothers. Perhaps the discovery of his own penis as a source of gratification stimulated his interest in the genitals of others.

While a child is being weaned he must learn many new and independent habits for coping with pain. He has to warm himself by the fire rather than by contact with his mother's body. He must suffer the pain from pressure against his yaws sores, or change his position until the pain is relieved. He no longer has someone to brush the mosquitoes from him but must deal with them alone. He must go down to the spring with his older siblings and wash himself with cold water instead of being gently bathed by his mother with warm water. When it rains he must run into the house if he wishes to keep dry.

When a child is weaned he may no longer sit in his mother's lap by day nor lie by her side at night. This is apparently felt as the most severe frustration experienced at this period of life. No longer is it possible to attain the vantage point from which all drives have hitherto been satisfied.

Kum's behavior indicated an especially strong desire to be near his mother and to touch her. When she came back from work in the evenings he would usually clasp and hug her leg. When she left in the morning he would cling to her, begging to be taken with her. When she sat in the house making a net bag or cooking a meal, he would stand beside her and often lean against her shoulder. Chinuwa, the mother, would never allow him as much contact as he seemed to want. When he hugged her leg or leaned against her side she might tolerate it for a moment, but would soon push him away and tell him to stop annoying her. Kum reacted to one of these rebuffs by

*Both men and women in Kwoma society go naked with the exception of some of the young men who have, within the last few years, adopted the custom of wearing laplaps (calico wrap-around skirts) from their contact with Europeans, and a few of the younger women who have recently procured blouses from white traders.

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861 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still
868 others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction
857 of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

863 Cleanliness habits are usually already established by the time a boy or girl reaches childhood. Informants stated that if a slip occurs it is the child's own business except that he is forced to clean up after himself. The following example indicates how sanctions actually operated in a case of enuresis. One night, when the mosquitoes were very bad, Buka, a girl about eight years old, slept with her mother, older sister, and younger brother in the screened room in my house. The next morning I found a puddle on the floor. Soon after breakfast the two young girls came in shamefacedly and offered to clean up. They lied to me, saying that Kum had wet the floor and that they were going to punish him for it. While they were carrying out the rug, their *paternal uncle* came in, scolded Buka, and beat her. She cried and ran home. The uncle then told me that it was Buka's own business if she wet the bed as long as she cleaned up after herself. He said that he would not have scolded her if she had done it at home, but wetting my floor was an insult to me which must be punished. Several of the onlookers referred to the act as that of an infant and said that she was old enough to know better.

• 864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female. He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing. Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he should not look at her genitals because they are her private

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property.[10] From this time on a male must avoid looking at the genitals of any woman except those of a lover or wife. 864 •

The sexual response for which a boy is most severely punished during childhood is that of tumescence in public. Any female who observes a boy with an erect penis is expected to beat the member with a stick. It is usually the boy's older *sister* who takes the responsibility for inflicting this punishment. I never saw this punishment actually administered, but I did observe boys with erections on two occasions. While playing at my house one morning Ham had an erection. His older *brothers*, Gwiyap and Mey, noticed it and teased him about it. They told him that he should be ashamed of himself and warned him not to let any females see him that way. On another occasion Fit was observed by his playmates with an erect penis and was similarly teased. Shortly after this I was visiting at Fit's house. His *brother*, Gwiyap, began telling his older *sisters*, Awa and Kwiya, about what had happened to Fit, illustrating the story in a joking manner by putting a stick between his legs. Awa and Kwiya laughed at Gwiyap but they scolded Fit. "You had better not let us catch you that way or we will beat you. What are you, a baby? You should be old enough to control yourself." Fit was much discomfited at this. He denied the truth of Gwiyap's story, told him to shut up, and finally left the house sullenly. Kwoma inculcation on this point is apparently very effective for I observed no adult, and, in fact, no other child with an erection.

A boy is also restricted from fingering his genitals. Anyone who observes a child touching his penis scolds him for it. They tell him that he should not do it because this part of his body belongs to his future wife, and that masturbation will cause injury to his penis. The training is effective enough to prevent the child, who during the weaning period was allowed to touch his penis, from persisting in this habit. I did not observe any boy child manipulate his genitals, and

[10] *Enji mbumbowi*—"My something." This expression is also used to establish property rights, thus bringing the act in context with offenses against ownership and property. [192] [196]

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864 boys of this age even refrain from touching them while urinating.

I cannot say whether this prohibition also prevented private masturbation. I asked Ham, Fit, and Mey, all of them boys in the childhood group, whether they played with their penises when they were alone. All of them denied it with considerable embarrassment. They hung their heads, pretended not to understand me, and changed the subject as quickly as they could. This embarrassment suggests that they were guilty about masturbation, but it does not indicate whether they actually did not masturbate or whether they did and were afraid to admit the fact.

201 864 838 [834] Boys who have not seen one another for some time rush together, throw their arms around each other, and hug and pat one another and rub one another's cheeks with their lime gourds. They exhibit this behavior with boys of their own age and sometimes with older men, but never with a female. Such an embrace is permitted between the sexes only when they are both aged and related. Mey, Fit, and Ham frequently chose to sleep together in my house rather than at their homes. They were often joined by adolescents. Although this was attributed to the advantage of mosquito proofing, they usually slept huddled together and often with their arms around one another.

524 838 864 Kwoma boys frequently play a game with sexual connotations: one boy chases another, throws him down, and simulates copulation with him. Other boys in the group then take advantage of the aggressor and pretend to copulate with him until four or five boys line up in this way all laughing and yelling with enjoyment. Then, when the bottom boy has broken free and the chain disintegrates, there follows a hubbub in which each boy calls another his wife and claims to have impregnated "her." Adolescents often join the game, and, when they do, the children have great difficulty defending their "honor." When this game was the fad, one or another group of boys played it almost every day for a period of over a month.

838 864 Boys often tease one another sexually when they sleep

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together. In a manner similar to that associated with the "homosexual" game, each claims that the other is his wife and will have a child by him. On one occasion Ham slept in the mosquito net with Wysep, one of my houseboys, when the latter's wife was away. The next morning Gwiyap and Mey began teasing Ham, saying that they suspected that Wysep had had sex relations with him and that pretty soon "his belly would swell up." Ham hotly denied the accusation, but the kidding persisted until Ham retired from the scene.

As far as I could observe, there was very little genital contact established either in the games or when the boys slept together. Sodomy is believed to be unnatural and revolting, and informants were unanimous in saying that anyone who would submit to it must be a "ghost" and not a man. Although this sanction theoretically applied only to the person who played the passive rôle, it seemed to be effective in restricting the practice.

The sexual training of a girl during childhood differs somewhat from that of a boy. Although she is punished for masturbating, in a manner similar to that of the boy, her conditioning differs in other respects, the most marked contrast resulting from the fact that the difference in her anatomy relieves her from the punishment which a male receives for having an erection in public. On the other hand, she is scolded by parents and older siblings for exposing herself unduly. She is taught to sit modestly with her legs stretched out together before her, and never to draw her legs up or sit with them apart. She is also warned not to lean over when a man is behind her unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her back. Furthermore she is told that a modest girl should step aside from a path if she sees a man approaching and stand with her back to the path until he has passed. She should not address him until he has gone by, at which time she may speak to him over her shoulder. When a girl is immodest, however, she is punished much less severely than is a boy. She is rarely more than scolded for such a lapse. The girl is also treated more leniently than the boy in that she is not restricted from looking at the genitals of the other sex.

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864 Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

757 593 858 Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children [755] by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

866 A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child